I
241
243
[412]

[372 cont.] she presses each stalk against the blade of the knife and collects them in her left hand.

When a piece of land is more or less exhausted after being worked for three or four years, it is abandoned, sometimes for good, and a new piece of land elsewhere is cleared in the same way.

S
B
[241
412]

When land is cultivated after being abandoned for a time, it does not require so much work before planting. The only agricultural implement used in this form of farming is the hoe, in Malayan tjangkoel, in Javanese patjoel. It is generally known by this last name ("patjol").

Where the condition of the land permits, it is worked in a peculiar way. The top layer of soil is turned up by means of large, pointed sticks. A whole row of people, each with a stick in his hand and each at the same time, drives the stick into the earth. All the sticks are then pulled around and the top layer of earth is turned over. This method of working the land is used by the Karo-Batak, on Sumba, and elsewhere. Outside the archipelago it is used on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands southeast of British New Guinea.

F
241
[476]

[373] A peculiar form of this primitive agriculture is found on western Flores (Manggarai). Each year the toean tanah (see p. 407) selects a piece of land to be prepared for the ladang, and it is cleared by all the inhabitants of the kampong, who work together from one center, and then divided, like a spiderweb, into plots for cultivation. The spiderweb form is accentuated by the big felled trees that are placed ray-like from a center, while concentric circles of the same trees cut through the rays at definite intervals. According to Meerburg, one of the plots thus fenced off remains at the disposal of its rightful claimant for three years (1).

F
[423]

1. Meerburg, "Proeve eener beschrijving van land en volk van Midden-Manggarai [Description of the land and people of Central Manggarai]," Tijdschrift van het Batavian

F
241
[423]

[373 cont.]

Genootschap, Vol. 34 (1891), and H. B. Stapel, "Het Manggaraische Volk," ibid., Vol. 56 (1914), p. 419.

T
243

Although from the technical point of view ladang cultivation is a very simple form of agriculture, the value attached to rice as a food is so great that even this primitive form of agriculture is surrounded by a cycle of religious customs and ceremonies. A description of some of them is given by Kruyt in his account of rice cultivation among the Toradja (2).

2. De Baré'é-sprekende Toradja's, II, pp. 229 ff.

T
[174]

Among the Parigi-Kaili group, rice cultivation in wet fields has been practiced for a long time, probably introduced by the Buginese; the Poso-Todjo group, on the other hand, formerly had only dry fields, but since 1907, by Government order, wet fields have been used wherever possible.

Rice cultivation is of such great importance to the Toradja that, according to Kruyt, all their thoughts are concentrated on their rice fields.

As was mentioned in the chapter, "Time Reckoning," the time to begin rice cultivation is indicated by the position of a certain constellation.

T
[793]

In everything concerning the cultivation of rice, the tadoelako have a special role. Not only are they the leaders in the field work, knowing more than the others about it, but, what is far more important, they are conversant with the spirits and the ceremonies that have to be observed in connection with rice cultivation. Three kinds of rice fields are distinguished: kawo, the newly cleared forest land; [374] bondé, the fields planted for the second time; and nawoe, a portion of the rice field dedicated to the gods, where all the prescribed ceremonies are faithfully observed. A piece of land with a species of Ficus (F. erecta Thumb) on it is chosen for this; if there is none, a tree

T
[782
796]

Wae
789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs (unbelievers, infidels)." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

R

693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are

796 ● 241 574 527 separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.

[614] [342] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
●[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

311
●241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

Weo

614 778 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 241 782 114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1] they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connection with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 632 651 466 624 476 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1] the people here still give tribute to the dalu when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls, etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now wants a new house he may no longer expect free labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 565 114 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi). Their descendants are still known. It is also true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

776 782 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 776 782 231 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko randang and lingko umah. The former are under the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah. The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa- [526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 782 624 231 527 The agricultural feasts are:

(1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A pig is sacrificed.

(2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama /religious teacher/ and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wa. 614 When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and attended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

War

614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at each generation the other chimed in with a chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing holding the head of the pig (as this ama has the Kottang function in this suku); the man from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama has the Kelen function in this suku); and the man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno wudjo, but there are no more in these groups who are still pagan, so they have to use old women. I can see the same thing on the schedule: in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are very young (e.g., three or four years old) as they are not yet Christians, but others are very old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making the best of it, but what can they do when the old women are dead? The answer is found in Leloba, where they no longer are able to have rites. They have given up the suku and ama rites, but still have the kampong agricultural ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are allowed to recite the names of the ancestors. They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

Wa

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
●241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

Wa

614 796 241 343 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and members present. All of this is done in order to make the rice in the fields perfect. The other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 789 342 614 823 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones which are in front of the houses of all suku and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Leloba and have not been replaced, but most of them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

831 614 241 796 784 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they may eat such food. This figures out to be roughly about one half of the year. Some of the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we 115 124 were finishing up the work he got a note telling him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 796 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting [621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 721 We asked about the bonds of friendship and enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed.
Another cause was molesting a child if done
by a neighboring kampong. There were also
radja wars, in which the people served, but
this was involved in high politics. Finally,
there were also the early wars against the ab-
origines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
takes over this function). When a new korke is
built, if the six posts do not fit into the
rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are
not happy because they are in need of food, so
they are pledged food. Formerly the people
then went out and got a head and hung it in
the korke. Then everything was all right.
Note that nowadays at such rites they give food
to the posts. For example, yesterday they
smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke
must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called
sebua.

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that
genealogical relationship is nearly everything
here. It shows also why descent is the basis
for the whole organization of power, etc., and
why marriage rules are so complex and strongly
held to. There have even been marriage rela-
tions with Riang Kamië, although they have not
been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

[See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

War

000 up together again.

614 171 789 Some of the suku are large, some are small, and some have died out. They have the same idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding [123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 178 708 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has not changed at all. However, when there was much warfare formerly, the women were important in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 462 241 One firm rule which is changing today, however, is that in the old days the women never did work in the field, except for helping in planting and in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita /a kind of
lamp/ for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

• 241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

We There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

Wa

797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa

796 story is clear in their minds.

●241 782 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay [774] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[348] [614] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition, each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

We

796 held under the ama kebang.

241 782 [887] Note the food symbolism in these most important rites. They take place under the barn. There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 [346] There are plenty of holy places, such as the kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 527 The festival calendar is largely one of agricultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything [824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

Wa

527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 614 177 Note the way that the church links with the old cult. I remember almost the first thing I heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

Wa

536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
284 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

221 The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
784 ary to March. This is the growing season. They work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

20 They know just about nothing about foreign sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

We

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

● [241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p.276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala [622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 342 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are [241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

We

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wae

326 do not know how to do it.
178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
[656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved
[224] for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[223] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

Wae

241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loin-
178 cloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

[301] In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
[304] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men
301 came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial
292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both
178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for exam-
881 ple, the assistant) do not do this, but they

We

769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

We

527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
● 241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for the first weeding, if there are many mice, and for harvest. The last mentioned is the biggest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear relation between this and the peo of Nageh and the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these are forked as though they were cut-off trees; I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang tree had had branches cut and it looked like a rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed, and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko randang must be planted every two years, because the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie fallow. At this time beasts graze there and fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

242 311 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going to have to move away!

● 241 242 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 231 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for harvest too.

782 527 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance. [535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 231 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at the new tjompang.

527 342 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.